

## Message Text

SECRET

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73

ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 H-02 SS-15 NSC-10 ACDA-19 DODE-00 IO-13 OIC-04

AEC-11 OMB-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /141 R

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APPROVED BY D: THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

EUR/ RPM: RJMCGUIRE PM/ DCA: TSIMONS

EUR: WJSTOESSEL, JR./ GSSPRINGSTEEN

D/ MBFR: VBAKER NSC: HSONNENFELDT

ACDA/ IR: JDLINEBAUGH( SUB)

OSD/ ISA: COL. NKFULWYLER/ GEN. LOBDELU

JCS/ J-5: GWARREN INFO

S/ S: MR. MILLER

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O R 300059 Z MAY 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

S E C R E T STATE 103068

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE/ MBFR LINKAGE

REFERENCE: USNATO 2617

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VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR  
HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

1. FOR USNATO. AGAINST BACKGROUND OF NAC DISCUSSION MAY 28, AND RECENT EXCHANGES IN VIENNA, YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO INDICATE TO ALLIES, INCLUDING AT NAC MEETING MAY 30, THAT US WILL IMMEDIATELY UNDERTAKE IN VIENNA BILATERAL EFFORT TO REINFORCE WITH SOVIETS POSITION OUTLINED IN STATE 102235, PRESSING FOR SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF CONVENING OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 30.

2. YOU SHOULD ALSO INDICATE AT MAY 30 NAC MEETING THAT US WILL WELCOME SIMILAR EFFORTS BY ALLIES, BUT THAT THE US INTENDS TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PRESSING THE SOVIETS ON AN MBFR DATE. AT SAME TIME, YOU SHOULD UNDERLINE TO ALLIES OUR VIEW THAT, AT THIS STAGE, ALLIED AIM SHOULD BE TO OBTAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO DATE NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 30 FOR OPENING MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS THAT SOVIETS EARLIER AGREED TO SEPTEMBER- OCTOBER TIME FRAME, AND THAT, FOR THEM TO RENEGE, COULD ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS A BREACH OF A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING. THUS, ALLIES, IN THEIR BILATERAL

APPROACHES, COULD INDICATE THAT THEY HAD APPROACHED CURRENT MULTILATERAL EAST- WEST TALKS IN GOOD FAITH, PURSUING AGREEMENT EVEN ON ISSUES OF CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY, AND WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN MULTILATERAL EAST- WEST TALKS IN THE SAME SPIRIT. IN SHORT, THE ALLIES HAVE LIVED UP TO THEIR END OF THE BARGAIN, AND NOW EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO DO LIKEWISE.

3. WITH RESPECT TO PROPOSALS, NOTABLY BY DUTCH, THAT A SPECIFIC LINKAGE BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS TACTICAL MISTAKE TO MAKE SUCH A LINKAGE. US WILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY A LATE JUNE/ EARLY JULY OPENING OF CSCE IS THE STRONGEST LEVER ON SOVIETS FOR THEIR AGREEMENT TO OCTOBER 30 FOR MBFR. THUS, YOU SHOULD STRONGLY URGE THAT LINKAGE NOT REPEAT NOT BE INVOKED, AND THAT ALLIES ALLOW TIME FOR SOVIETS TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION IN THE LIGHT OF US DEMARCHE AND A UNITED ALLIED APPROACH. IN SUM,  
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ALLIES' GOAL SHOULD BE TO OBTAIN A SOFTENING OF PRESENT SOVIET POSITION AND NOT TAKE STEPS WHICH COULD FORCE ALLIES TO BLOCK OPENING OF CSCE.

4. FOR VIENNA. YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY RAISE WITH SOVIET SIDE QUESTION OF DATE. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT ENTIRE US EFFORT IN HELSINKI TO COMPLETE PREPARATIONS AND BEGIN

FIRST PHASE OF CSCE HAS BEEN PREDICATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT SOVIETS WOULD BEGIN MBFR NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 30. US WILL ABIDE BY ITS COMMITMENT AND AGREE TO OPENING OF CSCE IN LATE JUNE- EARLY JULY. IF, HOWEVER, SOVIETS REFUSE TO AGREE NOW TO OPENING DATE FOR MBFR OF NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 30, SECOND PHASE OF CSCE WILL MAKE NO PROGRESS. YOU SHOULD INFORM SOVIET SIDE THAT THIS INSTRUCTION JUST RECEIVED FROM WASHINGTON AND YOU HAVE NO LATITUDE.

5. FOR HELSINKI. YOU SHOULD TAKE SAME LINE IN CONVERSATION WITH MENDELEVICH.

ROGERS

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NMAFVVZCZ

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MOSCOW  
NATO  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
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VIENNA

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